

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T GENEVA 7102

EXDIS/USSALTTWO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJ: COMMENTS ON MEETING, AUGUST 18, 1977
(SALT TWO - 1354)

1. AT AUGUST 18 PLENARY (SENATOR CRANSTON AND REP CARR PRESENT),
I MADE NO STATEMENT HAVING PREVIOUSLY TOLD SEMENOV THAT I WOULD
NOT GIVE INTENDED STATEMENT ON DATA BASE IN LIGHT OF HIS COMMENTS
ON AUGUST 16 (SALTTWO - 1352).

2. SEMENOV'S FIRST STATEMENT SUPPORTD SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR NON-
CIRCUMVENTION/NON-TRANSFER. HE CRITIZED US PROPOSAL AS "CLEARLY
INSUFFICIENT," LACKING REFERENCE TO NON-TRANSFER AND LACKING
NECESSARY SPECIFICITY. HE NOTED THAT THERE COULD BE NO AGREEMENT
WITHOUT MUTUAL OBLIGATIONS ON THIS REGARD. SEMENOV'S SECOND
STATMENT CONCERNED MIRV VERIFICATION (ART II.5). NOTING PROGRESS
TO DATE IN DRAFTING GROUP, HE REAFFIRMED 60-120 MRIV/NON-MIRV
LAUNCHER MIX AT D&P. HE STATED THAT RS-18 (SS-19) ARE DIFFERENT
FROM OTHER MISSILES AT D&P IN OUTWARD APPEARANCE, DESIGN,
DIMENSION AND WEIGHT ADDING THAT, THEREFORE, STANDARIZATION OF
LAUNCHERS AT D&P IS IMPOSSIBLE. HE FURTHER ADDED THAT
CONVERSION OF NON-MIRV LAUNCHERS TO MIRV LAUNCHERS
WOULD TAKE MONTHS AND WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO CONCEAL BY NTM.
HE POINTED OUT THAT ANTENNAS AT 60 LAUNCHERS AT D&P ARE

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ONE OF THE DISTINGUISHING EXTERNAL FEATURES OF THE RS-18 (SS-19)
LAUNCHERS.

3. IN BILATERAL, WE EACH REPEATED POSITIONS ON NON-CIRCUMVENTION/
NON-TRANSFER. SEMENOV INDICATED SOME FLEXIBILITY WITH RESPECT
TO AGREEMENT LANGUAGE BUT CONTINUED TO INSIST ON PROVISIONS
DEALING WITH BOTH SUBJECTS.

4. ON DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES (XVI.3), I DREW UPON RECENT INSTRUCTIONS (REFTEL STATE 195070/188466) REJECTING SOVIET PROPOSAL TO EXEMPT TELEMTRY DESCRIBING THE ISSUE AS ONE OF POLICY, NOT A TECHNICAL MATTER. I EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE TO US OF ANY EXEMPTION AND STATED US REQUIREMENT FOR PROVISION THAT NEITHER SIDE IMPLEMENT MEASURES OR PRACTICES WHICH DELIBERATELY CONCEAL DATA DURING FLIGHT-TESTING OF RELEVANT SYSTEMS.

5. KLOSSON-MCNEILL/KARPOV-SMOLIN BILATERAL. KARPOV, IN DISCUSSING AGREED STATEMENT TO XVI.3 OFFERED TO DROP SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR "SPECAIL MEASURES" AND REFERENCE TO TESTING IF US DROPPED ITS REFERENCE TO TESTING. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE TELEMTRY ISSUE, LIKE PENALTY TESTING, BE ADDRESSED IN A SEPARATE AGREED STATEMENT. THE DISCUSSION THEN TURNED TO ARTICLE II.5 AND US PROPOSAL WHICH CORRELATES US AND SOVIET DESIGNATION OF MISSILES. THE SOVIETS INDICATED THEY COULD NOT ACCEPT US DETAILED APPROACH.

6. SENATOR CRANSTON-CAPT BUTTS/BELETISKY-PAVLITCHENKO BILATERAL. SENATOR CRANSTON STRESSED THAT WE CANNOT HAVE AN AGREEMENT BASED SIMPLY ON BLIND TRUST AND FAITH, BUT WE NEED TO HAVE THE CAPABILITY TO ADEQUATELY VERIFY COMPLIANCE IN ORDER NOT ONLY TO PROVIDE SECURITY BUT ALSO TO PROVIDE A BASIS FOR TREATY RATIFICATION BY THE SENATE. FURTHER, NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS
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OF VERIFICATION ALONE DO NOT GUARANTEE MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE INTERPRETATION OF DATA. TO THAT END, SPECIFICITY OF PROVISIONS AND AN AGREED DATA BASE MUST BE AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE TREATY. ONLY THEN CAN WE BE SURE THAT BOTH SIDES HAVE THE SAME INTERPRETATION OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE TREATY AND AVOID FUTURE MISUNDERSTANDINGS. REFERENCING THE ISSUE OF NON-CIRCUMVENTION, BUTTS NOTED THAT DETAIL WAS NOT NECESSARY TO MAKE THE PROVISION CLEAR AND, IN FACT, THE US PROVISION OF NON-CIRCUMVENTION WAS VERY CLEAR.

7. CONGRESSMAN CARR-DR. JOHNSON/SHCHUKIN BILATERAL. CONCERNING THE ANTENNAS FOR RS-18 MISSILE LAUNCHERS AT D&P, SHCHUKIN NOTED THAT THE ANTENNA IS NOT AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE MIRV LAUNCHER SYSTEM BUT CAN BE USED AS A GEOGRAPHICAL LANDMARK TO INDICATE LOCATION OF MIRV LAUNCHERS. SHCHUKIN, NOTING A PRESS ARTICLE WHICH STATED THAT THE US WAS PLANNING TO TEST AN MX LAUNCHER WITH A DUMMY MISSILE AND THAT THE DUMMY MISSILE WOULD BE USED TO PUNCH A HOLE INTO THE CONCRETE ROOF OF A TRENCH. SHCHUKIN NOTED THAT, IN HIS PERSONAL VIEW, THIS WOULD BE "TESTING" AS WOULD ROAD-TESTING AS HE PREVIOUSLY INDICATED.

8. FREW-KWIECIAK/BEKETOV-KOUKLEV BILATERAL. FREW INDICATED

THAT SEMENOV'S STATEMENT DHELPS US UNDERSTAND HOW THE SOVIET'S
VIEW D&P BUT DOES NOT RESOLVE GENERAL MIRV VERIFICATION ISSUE
PROPOSED BY US. FREW EMPHASIZED THAT THE US IS NOT ONLY CON-
CERNED WITH D&P BUT FUTURE CASES AS WELL AND THAT D&P WAS AN
EXAMPLE OF A TYPE OF SITUATION THAT THE US WANTED TO PRECLUDE
IN THE FUTURE. BEKETOV THEN BROUGHT UP THE POINT THAT THE
NECESSARY ASSOCIATION OF A MIRV SLBM WITH A LAUNCHER COULD
NOT BE DONE AT A TEST RANGE.EARLE

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